

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 15636 01 OF 02 031655Z

42

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

----- 118919

R 031645Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5437

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 15636

EXDIS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: PEACEFUL CHANGE

REF: STATE 216095

1. AT OCTOBER 3 MEETING WITH FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VANWELL, THE AMBASSADOR DISCUSSED CONFUSION OVER SOVIET FORMULATIONS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE. VANWELL SAID THAT, AFTER LEARNING OF NEW VERSION WHICH VORONTSOV GAVE DEPARTMENT (PARA 1 OF REFTEL) HE HAD CHECKED AGAIN WITH AMBASSADOR FALIN. FALIN SAID IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE VERSION GROMYKO GAVE TO GENSCHER WAS THE ONE THE SOVIETS REGARDED AS BEING OFFICIALLY UNDER DISCUSSION AT THE PRESENT TIME. THAT VERSION READS:

"THE PARTICIPATING STATES CONSIDER THAT THEIR FRONTIERS CAN BE CHANGED, IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW, ONLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS, AND BY AGREEMENT."

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BONN 15636 01 OF 02 031655Z

(NB:VANWELL INDICATED THAT THE FRG ATTACHES SOME

IMPORTANCE TO THE COMMAS. HE APPEARED INCREDULOUS THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS AND THE VORONTSOV VERSION COULD HAVE RESULTED FROM A TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR.)

2. VANWELL SAID THE FRG REGARDED FALIN'S ASSURANCES AS A SUFFICIENT BASIS TO INITIATE THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION ON THIS FORMULATION WITHIN THE EC-9 AND WITH NATO ALLIES. THE FRG DELEGATION IN GENEVA HAD BEEN APPROPRIATELY INSTRUCTED. VANWELL INDICATED THAT THE FRG, IN LINE WITH THE THINKING OF ITS EC PARTNERS, PREFERRED TO CARRY ON THESE CONSULTATIONS TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE IN GENEVA.

3. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE AMBASSADOR, VANWELL MADE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET FORMULATION, WHILE IT WAS "A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION," WAS NOT NECESSARILY ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG IN ITS PRESENT FORM. THE FRG WOULD PREFER, FOR THE SAKE OF CLARITY, TO MOVE THE REFERENCE TO "INTERNATIONAL LAW" HIGHER UP IN THE SENTENCE, SO THAT IT WOULD READ:

"THE PARTICIPATING STATES CONSIDER THAT,
IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW,
THEIR FRONTIERS CAN ONLY BE CHANGED BY
PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT."

VANWELL SAID THE FRG WOULD TAKE THE POSITION IN FORTHCOMING CONSULTATIONS THAT THE ABOVE FORMULATION COULD PROVIDE A SOLUTION AND THAT, IF IT WERE ACCEPTED, HE MIGHT CONSIDER PROPOSING TO GENSCHER THAT THE WORD "ONLY" COULD BE RETAINED.

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PAGE 01 BONN 15636 02 OF 02 031654Z

42

ACTION SS-30

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R 031645Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5438

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON
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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 15636

EXDIS

4. VANWELL COMMENTED BRIEFLY ON THE QUESTION OF "EQUAL VALUE" OF PRINCIPLES. HE SAID GROMYKO HAD DISCUSSED THIS IN RATHER UNSPECIFIC TERMS DURING HIS VISIT TO BONN, SUGGESTING THAT SOME SUCH LANGUAGE COULD BE USED AS THAT ALL PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE "EQUALLY STRICTLY," "APPLIED," OR "RESPECTED" OR "IMPLEMENTED." THE FRG, VANWELL SAID, HAD NOT REACHED ANY FINAL CONCLUSIONS ON THIS ASPECT OF THE MATTER AND GENSCHER TOLD GROMYKO SO IN NEW YORK. THE FRG PREFERRED THE SIMPLE FORMULATION THAT "ALL PRINCIPLES ARE OF EQUAL VALUE," BUT GROMYKO REGARDED THIS AS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES WERE INTERESTED IN DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES. IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, VANWELL SUGGESTED, TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE HELSINKI FORMULATION TO THE EFFECT THAT ALL PRINCIPLES WOULD BE "EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY RESPECTED AND APPLIED." IN ANY EVENT, THE FRG WOULD INSIST ON A SECOND PART STIPULATING THAT "EVERY PRINCIPLE MUST BE INTERPRETED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OTHER PRINCIPLES." AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THIS, VANWELL SAID THE FRG WAS THINKING OF SOMETHING ALONG THE LINES OF:

"EACH PRINCIPLE SHALL BE INTERPRETED IN
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PAGE 02 BONN 15636 02 OF 02 031654Z

SUCH A WAY THAT IT DOES NOT IMPAIR (BEEINTRAECHTIGEN) THE OTHER PRINCIPLES."
HILLENBRAND

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